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ABSTRACT

To determine the objectives and priorities of the northerners for community development in the North, as expressed by their hopes and aspirations for their own future, the Man in the North (MIN) Project of the Arctic Institute of North America decided to bring together community-development specialists and residents of the Canadian Arctic and of Alaska. A compilation of the opinions expressed by the conference participants (the majority of whom were Indians and Eskimos), this publication is divided into 3 parts. Part I summarizes the 4 workshops and concludes with a list of priorities for research work: communication, transportation, community centers, school dropouts, a history book of the North, teachers, and social health; Part II contains a discussion of certain technical aspects of the MIN conference organization (e.g., preparation, logistics, pattern, involvement of northern participants, native languages, and audiovisual recording); and Part III is a 4-page report on immediate follow-up activities after the conference. The main discussions at the conference took place in the 4 workshops and covered such subjects as social health; architecture, town planning, and housing; education; youth and old people; communication and transportation; employment; land rights; and civic administration. (JB)

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Man in the North Project Report

MIN Conference on Community Development

The Arctic Institute of North America

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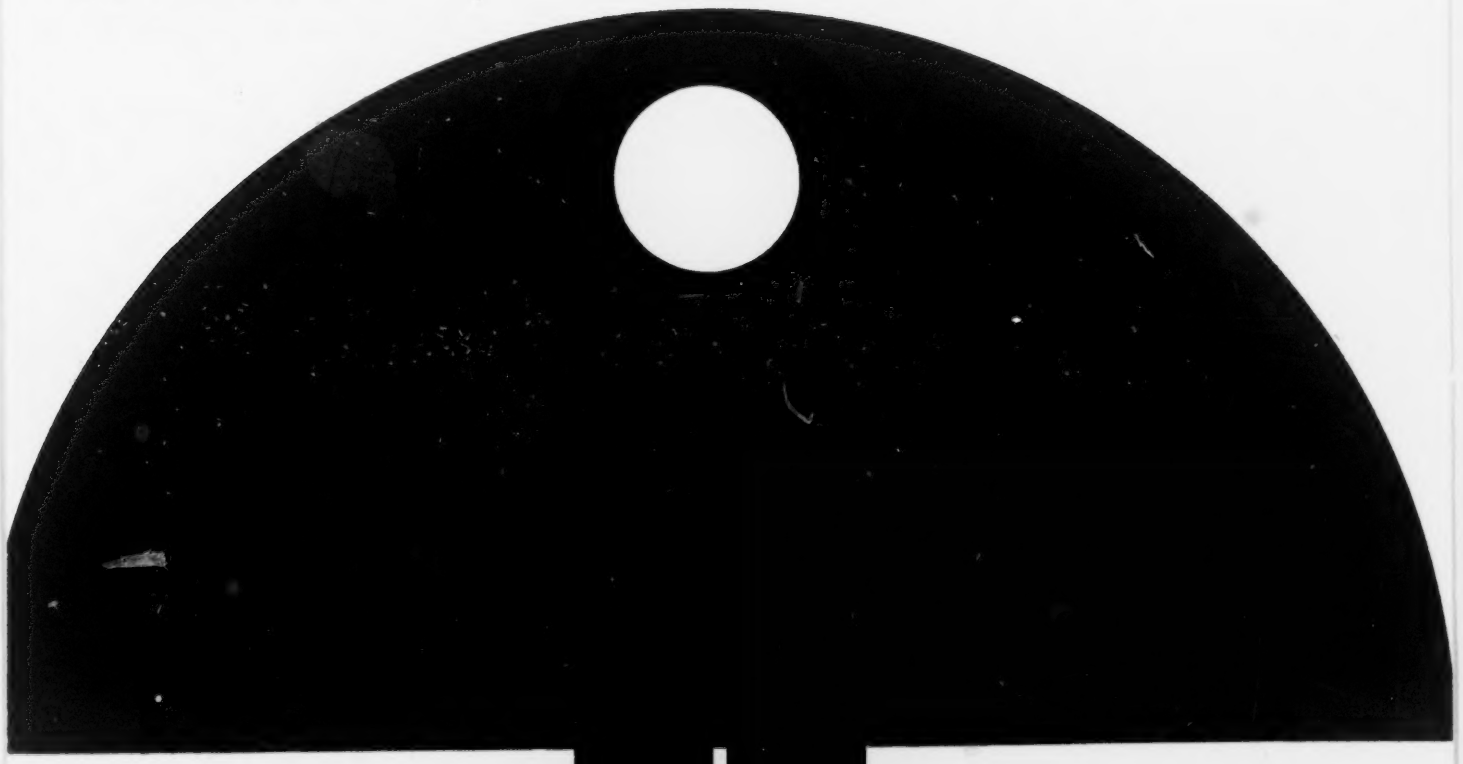

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THE MAN IN THE NORTH CONFERENCE

ON COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Inuvik, Northwest Territories, Canada

18-21 November 1970

sponsored by the Man in the North Project

under the auspices of

The Arctic Institute of North America

and

The Mackenzie Institute, Inuvik

Prepared by MIN Staff: Elizabeth Bell, Doug Brown,
Eric Gourdeau; with the help of Addy Tobac,
Fort Good Hope.

Editing: Helen Murphy, Information North, AINA

Secretary: Louise Lafleur, MIN

FOREWORD

This report has three aims: to report the main discussions that took place at the Inuvik Conference in the Northwest Territories in November 1970; to present several reflections that the organizers have had, since the conference, concerning various technical aspects of the conference; and to report on follow-up activities.

The Inuvik Conference was, in a way, a "first." In order to identify its priorities for research, the Man in the North Project (MIN) of the Arctic Institute of North America decided to bring together about a dozen specialists in community development, and about fifty residents of the Canadian Arctic and of Alaska in order to get their opinions on their priorities for research in northern community development. The first part of this publication ends with an enumeration of eight separate research projects that MIN will undertake. The results of these investigations will be published during 1971 and 1972.

The second part of the publication is a discussion of certain technical aspects of the conference organization, and the commentaries of the organizing team which came out of their reflections during and after the conference. It seemed that the publication of these reflections might be useful to those people who, for various reasons, might wish to make contact with northern residents and to become involved with them in a profitable dialogue.

The third part is a brief report on the immediate follow-up activities after the Conference. Although originally no plans had been made for any specific follow-up activities, it became evident from comments made by the participants during and after the conference that practical short-term projects were essential if the Conference were to have meaning for the northern participants and the people they represented at the conference.

Eric Gourdeau
Director
MIN Project

The following is a report on the Man in the North Conference on Community Development. The workshop reports are a compilation of the opinions expressed by the participants in those workshops. Editing has been limited to removing duplication, and to some grammatical corrections of the tapes.

PART I

MAN IN THE NORTH CONFERENCE ON COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

The Man in the North Conference on Community Development was held at Inuvik, NWT 18-22 November, 1970.

Aim

The conference aim was to determine the objectives and priorities of the northerners for community development in the North, as expressed by their hopes and aspirations for their own future. These findings should serve as the basis for the MIN research program.

Format

The conference was divided into general and workshop sessions. At the beginning of each morning or afternoon, a summary of the previous workshop's discussion was presented and a number of questions were put forth to introduce the next topic of discussion. At every general meeting, all the proceedings were translated into Slavy, Loucheux, and Eskimo from English.

The main discussions of the conference took place in the four workshops. Most of the discussions were carried on in English, but occasionally someone would speak in his own language. This usually would be translated into English.

At the final morning session, a summary was presented of the points made at the conference. Directions the Man in the North Project could take in its research on northern community development were explained using the conference discussions as its basis. There was also a statement concerning what the people of the North can do, using the conference as a take-off point.

Participants

The conference was organized by the MIN Project of the Arctic Institute of North America, in association with the Mackenzie Institute of Inuvik. The majority of the participants were Indian and Eskimo people. Some specialists and observers from other parts of Canada also attended.

Conference staff

Dr. George Jacobsen, Montreal
Mr. Eric Gourdeau, Montreal
Mr. Doug Brown, Montreal
Miss Elizabeth Volkoff, Montreal
Mr. Henry Strub, Montreal
Miss Addy Tobac, Inuvik

Chairmen

The role of the chairmen was to see that the discussions be as productive as possible.

Conference co-chairmen were:

Mr. Eric Gourdeau, Montreal
Mr. Vic Allen, Inuvik

Workshop chairmen were:

Mrs. Agnes Semmler, Inuvik
Mrs. Nellie Cournoyea, Inuvik
Mrs. Ellen Binder, Inuvik
Miss Elizabeth Volkoff, Montreal

Rapporteurs

The role of the rapporteurs was to note all the main points of the discussions. In order to have a more complete record of the conference, all the sessions were recorded on sound tape and some were also videotaped. The rapporteurs were:

Mr. Anthony Williamson, St. John's, Nfld.
Mr. John Hoyt, Whitehorse, Yukon
Dr. Art Blue, London, Ontario
Brig. H.W. Love, Montreal

Specialists

Specialists were to discuss aspects of community development with the northern residents. The specialists' experience and knowledge of community development would, it was felt, make the discussions more productive. The specialists were:

Dr. Art Blue, London, Ontario
Miss Phoebe Nahanni, London, Ontario
Dr. Elizabeth Cass, Inuvik
Mr. Anthony Williamson, St. John's, Nfld.
Mr. Dave Flynn, Yellowknife
Mr. Peter Anderson, Fort Rae
Dr. Echo Lidster, Yellowknife
MIN staff, Montreal

Delegates

The majority of the delegates were Indian and Eskimo people, chosen by the people in several settlements in the Mackenzie Delta region, and a few native people who were invited by MIN from other regions of the NWT, Yukon, and Alaska. They were:

Mr. Victor Allen, Inuvik
Mrs. Agnes Semmler, Inuvik
Mrs. Nellie Cournoyea, Inuvik
Mrs. Ellen Binder, Inuvik
Mr. William Macdonald, Fort McPherson
Mr. Tadit Francis, Fort McPherson
Mr. Charlie Charlo, Fort Rae
Mrs. Sarah Garlund, Aklavik
Mr. John Dick, Aklavik
Mr. Pat Illisiak, Aklavik
Mrs. Mary Kendi, Aklavik
Mrs. Maggie Hvatum, Aklavik
Mr. John Bavard, Fort Norman
Mrs. Alice Hardy, Fort Norman
Mr. Victor Beyonne, Fort Franklin
Mr. Isadore Yukon, Fort Franklin
Mr. Edward Nazon, Arctic Red River
Chief Hyacinthe Andre, Arctic Red River
Mr. Danny MacDonald, Norman Wells
Mrs. Cecelia Tourangeau, Norman Wells
Miss Ella Nasogaluak, Tuktoyaktuk
Mr. David Nasogaluak, Tuktoyaktuk
Mr. Garret Ruben, Paulatuk
Mr. David Ruben, Paulatuk
Mr. Noel Kakfwi, Fort Good Hope
Miss Addy Tobac, Inuvik
Mr. Dick Hill, Inuvik
Mr. Tom Yates, Inuvik
Chief Charlie Abel, Old Crow, Yukon
Miss Barbara Trigg, Nome, Alaska
Mr. Peter Ernerk, Churchill
Mr. Elijah Menarick, Montreal

Mr. Jonah Kelly, Frobisher Bay
Mr. Bob Charlie, Whitehorse
Mr. Albert Canadian, Yellowknife

Observers

Several people from other parts of Canada who are involved in various areas of community development attended. They were not invited as representatives of the groups they work for, but as private individuals. They were:

Brig. H.W. Love, Montreal
Mr. David Webb, Montreal
Mr. Andrew Cowan, Ottawa
Mr. S.W. Hancock, Yellowknife
Miss Riette Snow, Yellowknife
Mr. A.J. Kerr, Ottawa
Mr. Fred Henne, Yellowknife
Mr. John Hoyt, Whitehorse
Mr. Raymond Jackson, Whitehorse
Mr. Tom Gossen, Fort Smith
Chief Mike Mitchell, St. Régis, P.Q.
Mr. Earl Dean, Yellowknife

WORKSHOP OF THURSDAY MORNING, 19 NOVEMBER 1970

SOCIAL HEALTH

Alcohol

The causes of alcohol problems are many. Some of the main ones follow.

1. Loneliness. With their children away at hostels and schools, parents seek the company of other adults. Many times, alcohol is part of visiting friends. Where bars are nearby, people naturally go to them in search of companionship. When children are home, they are often left to look after themselves, and are unsupervised for long periods of time. They seek their own company and very often are exposed to alcohol, so they have their own parties.

2. Anxiety. People no longer carry on full-time trapping, and so more remain in town, or in the settlements, without full-time employment. They have more than enough leisure time. With unemployment, there is no steady income, and so no money for food, fuel, and clothes. This leads to worry and frustration which builds up over a period of time and causes heavy, and habitual drinking. Whereas once there were only the problems mentioned above to contend with, now alcohol becomes the basis for these problems.

3. Family breakdown. Since the children go away to school, the parents feel they no longer have their authority over their children, and they no longer feel needed. The children who are away at school for ten months of the year, and for years at a time, feel a growing gap between their parents and their people in terms of education, language, culture, and tradition. At school they learn a different set of values from that of their parents. They are repeatedly brought back and forth from the hostel, with all its facilities, to their homes which are sometimes shacks. This creates a resentment toward their parents who are always the same. Their parents are always poor, and never seem to have money to buy enough food, clothing, and other needs of the family. The children therefore remain in their own world, with their own friends. On both sides each generation has its own set of problems, and alcohol seems to relieve them of some of their frustration.

4. New developments. Oil exploration, construction, transportation, confuse the people. They are unable to understand the influx of development, nor the people who accompany it. They feel they are left behind, and that they are forgotten. Again, there is unemployment, and leisure time is increased. There are no organized community affairs.

5. Social habit. Everybody seems to drink a lot, so that the individual feels he must drink to be accepted by others.

6. Administration of welfare. Cheques, as well as the welfare way of life, induce people to purchase liquor, or to purchase material to make home brew. In such a situation the home and family are always neglected.

7. High rate of unemployment. Southerners come to fill positions, in new developments, and the only available positions are the unskilled and temporary ones. The oil companies for example, bring their own men in, so the northerners are always without priority as far as employment is concerned.

8. Racial discrimination. This is quite evident and has a great influence in terms of employment, housing, and attitudes in socializing.

9. The system of education and the hostels. The hostels relieve the parents of their authority and responsibilities for their children. The children resent their parents and this causes them to lose respect for them.

10. Boredom. There is nothing to do; people do not become involved in filling up their leisure time.

11. Lowering legal drinking age. It used to be that when the drinking age was 21, underaged people were going to the bars at 19. Now that the age is 19, underaged people, some at age 15, still are going to the bars. Checking and enforcement of the legal age in the bars and lounges are relaxed. The young people also follow the adults in their drinking habits.

12. Availability. Bars and liquor outlets are within easy reach and make plenty of alcohol immediately available to the public.

13. Excessive drinking habits. People will drink all that is there and do not seem to drink merely for the enjoyment of it. Their health and home suffer.

14. Death rate. Alcohol is an increasing problem in the sense that there are more deaths occuring which are related to drunkeness.

Solution of alcohol problems

The main point brought up from time to time was that there should be other things to do to occupy time. This brought up the subject of recreation. There should be a recreation centre or community hall in each settlement to give people a place to go to be with their friends. The other suggestion was that sports be organized, and that recreation facilities be made available to the people both in town and in the settlements. A place that people mentioned as an example was Ingamo Hall that used to function in Inuvik. People enjoyed this. The people stated that organized recreation activities should not be overstressed, and that activities should be spontaneous and not necessarily organized, especially in the case of the older native people. Dances, bingos, and curling are great pastimes for people. In the case of gym facilities, these should be open year-round, as this would give young people a chance to enjoy sports even in the absence of regular class time.

The people should be involved in their own affairs and should be encouraged to participate in community activities.

There should also be a strengthening of self-government, and re-strengthening of band councils, that were once strong. People must be aware of their power, and know how to use it to act as a united body, especially where it concerns a voice for their settlement. At the same time, initiative from the young people to become involved with their parents and with their people in the affairs of the community must be encouraged.

Prevention of alcoholism

Education on alcohol, its uses, its varieties, and social drinking habits should be introduced, so that people are familiar with it, and that there are ways of controlling it. Consumption of alcohol should not necessarily be excessive.

Money raised from taxes and profits from purchase of alcohol should be spent on treatment centres, or on community development programs.

Responsibilities of the people in their affairs, their homes and families, must be instilled and accepted by the people. If the government handed some of its responsibilities to the people, they could have some say in deciding their future, and their lives.

Alcohol and its problems are the responsibilities of both the Territorial and Federal governments. They must aid in overcoming social problems concerning alcohol, and pressure should be applied by the people for more action in this regard.

Discrimination should be changed into acceptance. People, especially southerners, should accept the fact there are different people with different cultures. There should be instead an interest in cultural exchange, and participation as different people in activities of the communities.

In conclusion, the people feel that alcohol would not be a problem if other problems were looked at and attacked first. Priority should be given to re-establishment of family stability in the communities. Greater involvement of the old people with the young, and the young with the old, would help in this. Unemployment should be curbed to the point where the community be organized to provide employment for its people, and that the oil companies be responsible for the employment of the native people. The education curriculum should provide for information on alcohol.

Family planning

The subject is unfamiliar to most of the people. The old people say it is the young people's problem since they themselves have brought up their families and are now grandparents. Some people feel that the subject is sacred to married couples, and that people get married to have children.

Most people felt that unwed mothers should know something about family planning as they have the biggest problem. Information about birth control should be made available to them. The father as well as the mother must take the responsibility for the child.

On the whole, people felt that information on family planning is needed and that the adult education department should be responsible for the distribution of such information.

WORKSHOP OF THURSDAY AFTERNOON, 19 NOVEMBER 1970

ARCHITECTURE-TOWN PLANNING-HOUSING

The size of northern communities in the future

Community growth is a matter of concern in the North. It is felt that both smaller and bigger settlements will remain, but that both will get larger. People say that the rate of growth should be slow because many problems arise when a town grows up too fast. A town should be encouraged to grow larger only if there is a definite purpose for a bigger settlement. It is feared that more extensive road networks would phase out the little communities, because they would be by-passed.

Many delegates felt that, in general, the people would rather stay in small communities where the people know each other, and have a feeling of belonging to the settlement. It was mentioned, however, that there is a tendency to move to the larger settlements. This creates a problem for some people who find that the larger communities cannot satisfy their desires; they return to the smaller communities, but are not happy there because they already have acquired a life style not found in smaller settlements. Others also felt that people will return to the smaller settlements to help build them up, and that people from outside will come to these communities.

Many people wish to stay where hunting is possible, but they are worried that a large increase in the population of smaller communities will have a bad effect on hunting.

There seems to be a general feeling that the government is imposing both the concept of larger communities and the development patterns of the future. As a result the people feel that they have no say about their future.

Services required

Many people have said that certain services should be considered minimum requirements for all northern settlements. These include: electricity, water services, sewage disposal services, heat, radio, and television. Other priorities that have been mentioned are community freezers for small settlements, and the construction of sidewalks in all communities.

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Many people said that they like to have space around their houses, and that they do not like row-housing or apartments. The space is needed to allow children to play in their own yards, and to avoid a feeling of being crowded. Some people said that space between houses is preferable to a utilidor, an insulated, heated service system containing both the water supply and sewerage systems which is constructed above ground.

Mixed communities

It appears that mixed communities (Indians, Eskimos, Métis, Whites) usually work well. They are especially successful where communities are small, and where all the people know each other. Once a community gets too large the population tends to separate into different groups. White people, as long as they are few in number, mix well into communities that are predominantly Indian or Eskimo. As soon as there are enough white people so that they no longer depend on the native population, then they become and stay a separate group.

Housing

It was stated in the workshops that proper housing should be a right, and that a person's position in the community should not decide his quality of housing.

It appears that Indian and Eskimo people have a definite preference for private ownership of houses, rather than low-rental programs. However, low-rental programs are preferred to free housing. The ability to pay even a small sum each month gives the renter a sense of pride and greater feeling that the house is his. Many people like the low-cost housing programs, and do not like seeing them replaced by public housing. Some people questioned whether the government was really helping the people by providing them with low-rental housing. They said that if the amount of rent you pay increases with higher salaries, then people might be discouraged from working.

People feel that they should be consulted about the kind of houses that would suit both their needs and the environment. Pre-fabricated houses that have been assembled in the North were planned to contain all services, such as running water and electricity; they did not take into account what services were actually available and what activities the houses were to be used for. Many people said that the new houses were too cold and too

small. Simple things such as a cold porch and better insulation could improve the existing houses. It is felt that a minimum standard for housing in the North should be established.

Some people expressed a definite preference for log houses. They are considered to be warmer than pre-fab houses; difficulties also arise with pre-fab houses which can be damaged during shipment. It was suggested that people could join together to cut the logs and build their own houses. If this happens, then the people would depend less on the government and would have a sense of satisfaction in having accomplished something on their own. If people wish to build their own houses, they should have access to the money that would otherwise be used by the government to construct housing.

Public buildings

It is felt by some that the town hall is the most important public building. People go there constantly with their questions and complaints. Also, non-public meetings and gatherings are held there. Many people feel that one priority in establishing a new community is a community centre. This would provide a place for people to meet to discuss the development of their community and to hold social events. In this way a sense of community spirit could develop. It was felt that schools were too elaborate and uninviting to serve as community centres.

WORKSHOP OF FRIDAY MORNING, 20 NOVEMBER 1970

EDUCATION

Teachers

1. Native teachers. There is a great demand for native teachers. Native teachers should not be required to meet all the standard requirements in order to obtain a teaching permit. Even if they are not fully qualified, native teachers would be more valuable, especially in the younger grades, than qualified teachers from outside, because they have a better understanding of the children and the way of life of their families. If there were more native teachers, a greater number of young people would be encouraged to enter the teaching profession.

It was suggested that older people should be asked to teach culture, traditions, and language. These people could be paid for their contribution to the school instead of receiving welfare. As well as teaching, they could come to scout meetings to teach about the old way of life.

2. Southern teachers in the North. There is a general feeling that teachers from the South do not know enough about the North, and should have special training to prepare them. They should be familiar with northern geography, history, and economics, as well as the northern way of life. It has been suggested that native people could make available information about the North and its people to southern teachers. These people could either go South to participate in training sessions, or training centres could be set up in various regions of the North to which the southern teachers would come to receive instruction from native people. Again, older people who know the North well would be very useful as instructors in these centres.

When teachers come North, they should be ready to respect the culture and the language of the local people. As is the case with mathematics and other subjects, there should be trained specialists in the languages and cultures of the northern nationalities.

Curriculum

It is widely felt that the education northern young people receive often does not help them to get jobs in the North, and does not prepare them for northern life. Relevant subjects that pertain specifically to the North should be taught. Native languages should be part of the curriculum from the first grade. Northern history and geography should be emphasized, and a history book about the North should be written for use in the schools.

Many people feel that the techniques of trapping and hunting should be taught in the schools. Children should be familiar with bush life in case they are not successful in obtaining a job. There is a general feeling that northerners by definition should be able to make a life in the bush if necessary. However, it is important that young people understand that just because they learn the old way, that they will not necessarily have to earn a living that way.

It is important that northern people participate in the establishment of school programs.

Drop-outs

A very serious problem in many communities is the number of school drop-outs. When they reach Grade 8, 9, or 10, many students quit school because they feel that their studies are not of much value to them. Many students find that there are no jobs available for them once they finish school. Their parents cannot encourage them to go back to school. Therefore, it has been suggested that counselling services should be established.

Some means should be found for drop-outs to receive some sort of training that would permit them to be useful to the community instead of being lost for themselves and for everyone. It should not be made difficult for drop-outs to return to school if they wish to do so later. They should not have to wait three years before being allowed to live in a hostel again. Correspondence courses, too, could be of great benefit.

Adult education

There is a need for adult education, but the need differs from place to place. Therefore, the subjects to be taught should be decided at the local level. Subjects which generally should be included in adult education are: aspects of Indian and Eskimo culture; sewing and other handicrafts; languages; reading and writing. It was suggested that adult education classes could provide an opportunity for native and white people to exchange information about such things as sewing and cooking. Other courses that could be very useful would consider subjects like "how to use your home," or "how to budget time." Courses about sex, drugs, and alcohol would help parents discuss these things with their children.

There is a need for up-grading schooling, especially in the case of school drop-outs. People who need training in order to obtain new jobs could receive this as part of adult education programs. Also, such programs could provide management training so that people will be able to run their own affairs. Perhaps adult classes could be a form of paid work, for example, two afternoons per week as part of their job.

Hostels

Hostels are generally liked by students because a lot of different people are brought together, and it provides an introduction to living in bigger places. Also, the students have fun there.

It is recognized that many students who have spent a long time in hostels are dissatisfied with the life in smaller settlements when they return to them. In the hostels they are accustomed to having everything free, and to the comforts of a southern dwelling place. They expect life to be like that afterwards. But hostel life is seen by many as being too easy, one which does not teach independence.

It is felt that there should be more supervision in hostels, and that parents and students should participate in the setting up of regulations.

Children should not be too young when they go away to hostels; they should not go before Grade 10. They need both their family's education and their community's education, as well as what they get at school.

School year

Some people suggested that the school year in the North should be adjusted to coincide with the trapping and hunting seasons. Since the trapping season differs from one area to another, it would be necessary to have a different school year in the various regions of the North.

WORKSHOP OF FRIDAY AFTERNOON, 20 NOVEMBER 1970

YOUTH AND OLD PEOPLE

There often exists a serious gap in communities between the old and the young people. Some mentioned that a certain bitterness can develop between the two groups, caused by the difficulties the two groups encounter when they want to talk together. The teenagers have developed and learned ways of thinking and expressing themselves that cannot be translated into the native language. The younger ones also have subjects of conversation that are sometimes different from what their parents want to speak about. The fact is that the young people go to school, very often outside their own communities, which has developed their interests for the future and for what is happening elsewhere. Their parents, however, remain in the settlement and have a more limited range of interests. Young and old have widely differing ideas about their future. The old people still see trapping as a very important way of life, while many of the young people feel that this traditional livelihood will disappear or at least become much less important.

Because their interests are no longer the same, the old people don't look for a young person's company, but turn to their own age group for conversation. This only serves to widen the gap between the two groups.

It was suggested that the younger ones, when they come back, are afraid of looking ridiculous in the eyes of the older people because they no longer know the life of the bush. It was suggested that an effort should be made by the parents to understand better what their children want to do in the future. They should give them not only encouragement, but guidance and advice.

The parents have an important responsibility in teaching native languages. This cannot be left exclusively to the school. If the children are ashamed to speak their language, it is often because of the negligence of the parents themselves.

Almost everything that is done now seems to reinforce the separation of the age groups. It is as if the authorities give most of their attention to those who seem capable of achieving the kind of life that the dominant society considers to be best. It was suggested that the people should try and do more things together as a family.

The separation between the older people who stay in the communities, and the younger ones who go elsewhere to work or study, could be made less by a more extensive system of communications. Showing each other's activities on videotape, exchanging sound tapes, or more frequent telephone conversations could help to bring people together.

It was suggested that old and young people could share their ideas and discoveries better in the future by participating together in conferences, such as the Man in the North Conference, where they can discuss topics of common interest but from different points of view. It would also be better if more of the artifacts being discovered by archeologists were kept in the North for display.

It was also mentioned that a northern cultural fraternity should develop among the various nationalities of the North.

WORKSHOP OF SATURDAY MORNING, 21 NOVEMBER 1970

COMMUNICATIONS AND TRANSPORTATION

Communications

1. Films. Films are very important to the life of the community. They provide an opportunity for all the people to get together. For the old people especially, films are useful because they can learn about the many things that they see on the screen.

It is felt that films about the North and the northern way of life would be more interesting and useful than films from the South, such as westerns. There is a demand for National Film Board productions.

There is no agreement on the question of what season of the year films would be most useful. Depending upon the hunting or trapping, for some areas winter would be the best time, and in others the summer.

2. Telephone. Telephone communication should be available to every community in the North. It is important for people out in the bush to be able to talk to their families in the town and for parents to be able to talk to their children who are away, either in hospitals or at school in hostels. In the case of parents talking to their children, the telephone should be free of charge. Communication with children outside is a necessity, both to maintain good relations between the parents and the children, and for each to understand what the other is doing.

In the case of isolated communities such as Paulatuk telephones are an extreme necessity because it is the only way people can call for medical help in case of an emergency.

3. Radio and television. In each community there should be a radio station operated at the local level, by residents of the locality, who should be properly paid. No southerners should be required, and therefore operation costs could be lower. These radio stations could receive programs from outside - from other northern settlements and the southern networks, for example - and each station could produce its own program. People would like more news summary programs both in Indian and Eskimo.

It was suggested that radio could be used for teaching languages.

It is felt that locally-run radio stations would be more important for the people than the satellite communications program, which is felt to be a gadget conceived for southern purposes, and not for northern residents. It is felt to be yet another method to feed more southern culture into the North without making any provision for an exchange.

4. Tape recorders and videotapes. Tape recorders should be used more for the exchange of messages between parents and children, or any people that are forced to be apart.

Videotape should be used intensively in the future. Each community should have its own equipment. The exchange of videotapes between settlements would enable people to find out what is going on in other regions of the North.

It is felt, too, that videotape would be very important for education in the North. It would allow children to learn about hunting and trapping even while they are in school. It would also be useful for teaching language and culture. Videotape could also be used as an introduction to the South and to the outside generally.

Videotape could supplement the use of tape recorders in sending messages between northern residents and those who are outside.

In the future there should be more exchange of material between Alaska and the Canadian North, especially through radio and videotapes. People in the North, it was said, can learn easier by using oral and visual communication equipment than books and blackboards.

Radio and telephone communication between northern communities is more important to the people than communications between North and South. Northerners lack information about other regions of the North. Television should be used more. At the present time there is not enough local coverage, and the programs that are received are one or two weeks old. This time lag should be eliminated.

Transportation

A good road system seems to be important, as it would permit the people to travel cheaply, when they want, according to their needs. It might also encourage tourists to go North and visit the settlements. But as a whole air travel is more important for the North, and the huge sums of money that would be necessary to build and maintain roads could be used instead to subsidize flying and lower the costs of air travel. Also, it is feared that the construction of roads might affect the migration patterns of animals, whereas planes do not disturb them.

In the future it will be very important to build good air strips in every settlement. This will make regular mail delivery possible and assure the people of quick service in case of emergencies.

There also should be more east-west travel facilities for Northerners.

SESSION OF SATURDAY AFTERNOON, 21 NOVEMBER 1970

The topics suggested for Saturday afternoon's discussions were employment and civic administration. However, the time was given over to a general meeting about land rights and proposed pipelines. The meeting was requested by the delegates after they had held a short closed meeting on Friday afternoon, which had been requested earlier, to discuss and decide whether they would like to take this opportunity to discuss a subject that is of utmost importance to them. The topics for discussion suggested were:

. who owns the land?
. oil and mineral exploration
. the pipeline
. hunting and fishing
. employment.

The meeting began with a speech by Chief Charlie Abel of Old Crow. He stated his position concerning the pipeline proposed for the Yukon, and his opposition to it until such time as the people's right to the land has been recognized.

An open meeting followed and several points were made.

1. All the native people of the North now must join together and speak with a single voice to obtain from the government the recognition and compensation for their lands that they desire. This is a priority, since all future development depends on it.

2. A motion was proposed, seconded, and passed unanimously that oil companies be forced to hire native people instead of bringing southern workers to the North.

3. A petition was proposed, to be drawn up by COPE and to be signed by all the delegates, in support of Chief Charlie Abel of Old Crow and his stand against the pipeline. Both the motion and petition were to be sent to the federal government.

Though the topic of employment was not the subject of any particular workshop, several points about employment came out during the other discussions.

Oil companies should be required to hire native people instead of bringing men from the South to work on the pipelines and drilling.

Many find that the schooling and training now available does not prepare a lot of people for the jobs open in the North. A person may be trained as a heavy duty mechanic and is then sent back to his settlement where there may not be a need for his skill. He should either be allowed to go to a community where a heavy duty mechanic is required, or be encouraged to learn a skill that would allow him to find work in his own settlement.

Native people should be allowed to learn on the job. They argue that an area administrator who comes from the South must learn on the job, since everything is new to him.

CONCLUSIONS

From all the discussions in the workshops and in the plenary sessions some priorities for research work could be sorted out. They are as follows.

Communications: research into the possibilities of providing each northern settlement with a radio station operated by the local people, and with videotaping equipment.

Transportation: research to set up requirements and ways to establish, in each northern community, the physical facilities permitting access for planes at all times of year; research into the possibilities of considerably reducing the cost of air travel between northern settlements.

Community centers: research on the best ways to establish, in northern settlements, community centers really designed to meet the needs of the people for recreation and leisure time.

School drop-outs: research into the possibilities of permitting those who have dropped out from regular schools to be useful to their communities.

A history book of the North: the writing of a book on the history of the North and its peoples, based on the methodical collection of available information.

Teachers: a study of the possibility of employing native people as teachers at the elementary level, even if they are not qualified according to the conventional standards of the dominant society; a study to identify the ways and means of adequately preparing southern teachers going North, regarding the special northern environment, including the languages and the cultures of the autochthonous people.

Social health: research into the possibilities of suppressing, in the North, the main causes for alcoholism: insignificant participation of the people in the new activities brought by the white man; unemployment; cultural gaps between the old and the young people.

PART II

REFLECTIONS ON TECHNICAL ASPECTS OF THE MIN CONFERENCE

Preparation of the Conference

1. The first phase of preparation began in May 1970, when the Director of MIN travelled to the Yukon and the Northwest Territories for consultations with native organizations, northern residents, and governmental authorities.

Comment: These consultations proved quite useful in that they determined what kind of conference would be most appropriate. It was following this groundwork that the conference design was drawn up by the MIN staff and approved by its advisory committee. According to the wishes of the majority of the people MIN met in the North, the proposed conference would have a majority of northerners who would discuss various aspects of their own community development. They would indicate to a handful of specialists what they considered to be the most important elements in this field. Such dialogue would permit MIN to identify priorities for its current research program.

2. During the months of June, July, and August the range of discussion topics was provisionally categorized as social health, education, architecture and town planning, communication and transportation. This was done at the MIN Montreal Headquarters.

Comment: Even if this kind of agenda were not finalized, it was a good thing to have something to present to the people for preliminary discussions. Community development is a very broad field, and it needed to be subdivided into more specific areas to help the social animators to start with something.

3. In September the Assistant Director of MIN visited most of the participating settlements in the Mackenzie Region, to meet local officials and to introduce the concept of the Conference to them. The underlying idea of this tour was to encourage the local people to actively prepare themselves for the Conference through local meetings at which community problems could be discussed and Conference delegates chosen. Local people were assured that at this Conference, at least, the delegates would be free to discuss any

subject they and their people thought important, and that interpreters would be provided for those who wished to express themselves in their mother tongue. Further consultations were also held in September with the Northwest Territories government and with leaders of native organizations, to reinforce cooperation with these groups. Officials of the territorial government promised to advise their local agents of the forthcoming conference and to encourage them to hold preparatory discussions in the participating communities.

Comment: As a result of these consultations, four additional discussion topics were included in the detailed plan for the program of the Conference: young and old people (important enough to be considered separately from education); civic administration; employment; and alcoholism. Also, an agreement was reached by which the Mackenzie Institute of Inuvik would become the co-sponsor of the Conference, with one of its staff working in the capacity of liaison officer between MIN and the Institute.

The main idea was that such discussions would be extremely useful for the delegates, both in terms of developing their self-expression and in providing them with adequate material for specific discussion items to present. In fact this did not happen, for two main reasons: on one hand, only a few local government officers were advised by their superiors of the coming conference; on the other hand, communications between the MIN Headquarters in Montreal and the Liaison Officer in Inuvik proved lamentably insufficient. The intended involvement of the northern communities - and consequently the success of the Conference itself - would have required one member of the MIN staff to be posted at Inuvik to work in close and constant collaboration with the Liaison Officer and the Mackenzie Institute, for at least one full month before the staging of the conference. In this way, advance organizational work could have been managed directly in the North and sufficient time would have been available for more concentrated consultations with local communities and councils. As it was, the travelling organizers of the MIN Conference could not stay long enough in the communities they visited in preparation for the conference. Generally speaking, they should have stayed one full day and night in each place in order to assure that their contacts with local leaders and with other people would not be superficial. Such advance work would also have permitted better logistics, some of which, for example transportation of the participants, preparations for recording, and establishing the conference premises, could be dealt with efficiently only at the local level.

Coming back to governmental involvement, too little was done by MIN to make sure that the aims of the conference were well understood by both the territorial and the federal authorities. The same thing could be said of the native organizations. These two groups were both informed of the conference many months in advance but they were not sufficiently familiarized with the objective of the organizers, which was not to hold a conference of organization representatives, but rather to gather a certain number of northern residents in their own private capacities. The Arctic is a special area, where any special event is bound to involve in one way or another the existing organizations. In this context, if these organizations had been better informed of the preparatory field work, they could have had a chance to assess the possible contribution of the conference to their respective interests and have prevented some of the misunderstanding about the aims of the conference. Furthermore, such prior contact with political organizations has intrinsic value both as an appropriate gesture of formal recognition and as an efficient means of gathering information about the conference area, while promoting an atmosphere of reciprocal cooperation.

The logistics of the Conference

1. Inuvik was chosen as the site of the conference, because it was the best place in the arctic region of the Northwest Territories for facilities such as meeting places and hotels, for easy access because of the airstrip, and so forth. With its 3,000 inhabitants, Inuvik is a kind of a metropolis of the Canadian Arctic.

Comment: All this proved to be true, but the question can nevertheless be raised as to the wisdom of choosing such an urbanized site, far from typical of northern communities. The atmosphere, dominated by a southern-style culture, and the easy access to liquor stores and to bars, had an impact on many participants (including the southerners) and resulted in the physical exhaustion of some. As a consequence, tardiness, absenteeism, and fatigue slowed down formal conference activities. Perhaps in a more typically northern settlement, conferees would have felt more at home and less prone to distraction.

On the other hand it is worth noting that whatever possible disadvantages a large community may pose, it was apparent that a certain number of delegates welcomed the opportunity to go to Inuvik for personal reasons. For example, some delegates were able to conduct business related to the activities of their local handicraft cooperatives; for others, the conference provided a chance to do shopping and to visit friends and relatives.

Maybe the most positive advantage of Inuvik was that it permitted live transmission of the conference discussions to the villages and communities in the Mackenzie Delta Region, via the TV and radio facilities of the CBC Inuvik station.

2. The conference was held in the last full week of November, a date chosen with regard to the celebration of the Northwest Territories Centennial.

Comment: In spite of the fact that no serious obstacle was encountered by the organizers, it is quite clear that this time of the year is far from ideal for organizing a conference in the Arctic. Daylight is restricted to a few hours, and icing conditions, and partially frozen rivers and lakes, hinder air travel at this time of year.

3. In Inuvik, the delegates and observers stayed at the same hotel. For economy's sake, both delegates and observers were assigned in pairs to double rooms. Meals were taken in the hotel, while the conference itself took place in a nearby building complex which corresponds functionally to a "community centre" type of structure. (The administration of daily meals at the MIN Conference was simple and efficient. Delegates merely identified themselves and signed the bill for each meal. Each delegate was allowed to $10 maximum expenditure on meals per day. After the conference, the restaurant simply presented the total bill for the conference to the organizers.)

Comment: The fact that the delegates, observers, and organizers stayed in the same building, and that they were given double rooms rather than single ones, was helpful in providing a feeling of unity, mutual moral support, and efficient interpersonal communications.

4. The room used for plenary sessions was both large enough to comfortably contain the assembled conferees and small enough to permit soft-spoken participants the necessary acoustic support. For the workshop sessions, the four corners of the big gymnasium were to be used, but had to be replaced - in view of acoustical interference between the groups - by four separate rooms.

Comment: The atmosphere of privacy and relaxation has been identified as an important element in the workshop sessions. One of these workshops was held in a place with living-room appearance, of medium size and comfortably furnished; this proved to be quite effective.

The pattern of the Conference

1. The conference was co-chaired by a community development specialist from the South and a well-known Inuvik Eskimo leader. Three of the four workshops were chaired by a northern resident, and the fourth by a southern one. One of the rapporteurs was from the North and the three others from the South.

Comment: These combinations proved to be quite useful. Well-known native northern leaders proved eminently suited to the roles of conference co-chairmen and workshop discussions leaders, since they were known personally, respected, and trusted by the participants. It also proved useful to have the MIN Conference co-chaired by a specialist in northern affairs who was from outside the region; this added an element of detached impartiality to procedural decisions.

2. Each conference day was divided into two parts: a morning session which included a general meeting, a mid-morning coffee break, and workshop discussions; and an afternoon session which began with a general meeting, followed first by a coffee break and then by a workshop discussion.

Comment: The small workshop group of about a dozen people proved to be an effective vehicle for inducing frank, relaxed discussion in a personalized atmosphere. Workshop chairmen tended to give priority of expression to native northern delegates so as to accelerate their rate of contribution. Confidence gained in workshop conversations was reflected very obviously in more active participation of the delegates in general sessions at the last stages of the conference.

3. Each workshop session was followed by a special meeting which included the conference co-chairmen, and the chairman and the rapporteur of the workshops. The purpose of these meetings was to assess the efficiency of the workshops, discuss suggestions regarding changes in the program, and so on. They also served to prepare unified summaries of the workshop sessions. At the start of each morning and afternoon session, a summary of the previous workshop discussion would be handed to the participants and a number of questions were put forth to introduce the next topic of discussion.

Comment: The special meetings between workshops (made up of chairmen, rapporteurs, and conference co-chairmen) were invaluable for amalgamating workshop reports, and for ensuring flexibility and spontaneity in the conference program. These meetings permitted the conference co-chairmen to respond quickly to requests and suggestions concerning such things as modifications of the agenda, the role of the observers, and the introduction of VTR equipment into the conference. The welding together of the separate workshop reports into one comprehensive report avoided time-consuming duplication at general sessions and so permitted each plenary meeting to pass quickly through the résumé of workshop findings and on to the presentation of the next discussion topic on the program.

4. Theoretically each workshop had the same topic to discuss. The members of the workshop had before them a series of questions that had been prepared in advance and could serve to initiate discussions. It was clearly stated, though, that the workshops were not bound to discuss all the items presented. The chairmen of the workshop in fact had been instructed to let people discuss a topic not on the agenda, as long as the discussions made sense; the rapporteur was to incorporate the result of these discussions in his report for the topic concerned.

Comment: These procedures proved to be quite useful. It was not considered inappropriate to let a participant raise a subject even if it was not on the agenda. Stopping him at that point could present an obstacle to the rest of the workshop session and even for the rest of the conference.

Involvement of the northern participants

The involvement of the northern people in the conference was encouraged by a series of measures that have already been cited: work preparatory to the conference, personal contributions of conference officers and interpreters, use of the local languages, co-sponsorship of the Mackenzie Institute, intensive use of VTR, radio and TV, etc. Some spontaneous events also contributed a great deal to this involvement, like unplanned and highly successful gatherings where people danced.

The films projected at the conference were chosen for their capacity to provide relaxing entertainment, technical information of interest to northerners (for example projected satellite communications), and subject matter having social content particularly relevant to northern problems. A noteworthy example is a National Film Board movie concerning a jurisdictional dispute over aboriginal land rights and the treaty rights of native people. The films was complemented by an address from a native leader, which was followed by intense and lengthy discussions among those present. Ultimately, the unspoken but profoundly urgent question of native land rights was dramatically raised.

Comment: The very enthusiastic appreciation that the participants voiced at the end of the conference left no doubt as to their overall satisfaction about their involvement in the discussions and in the other functions.

In retrospect it would appear that the MIN Conference might have involved a wider segment of society. Two possible major oversights could be cited in this respect:

a. The conference might have concluded with a large meeting open to the public, at which its findings could have been presented to the citizens of the host community. Such a meeting would have required thorough advance publicity stressing the desirability of mass public participation.

b. Organizers might have taken greater care to work out specific mechanisms for inviting feedback on the conference, both from participants and from the general public in the North.

The native languages

The Inuvik experiment has clearly demonstrated that respect for the languages of native northern people is absolutely necessary for effective communication with them. The fact that general sessions were translated orally into three native languages (Eskimo, Slavy, Loucheux) was of primary importance in building a spirit of confident participation among the delegates, and in insuring them direct and fluid contact with native TV viewers of the conference. The use of native languages for general sessions led to a progressively greater effort to use the native languages as a medium of communication in workshop sessions. Many delegates expressed personal satisfaction at the respect accorded their native tongues, and stated that interpretation made it easy for them both to follow and contribute to conference discussions.

Several later developments indicated the vital role that interpretation into native languages played in stimulating public awareness, as well as increasing involvement and cohesion within the conference itself. Some delegates were contacted by friends or relatives who expressed interest in the conference after watching it on TV, and offered encouragement to their spokesmen. After the first general session the delegates spontaneously set up a rotation system of interpretation whereby individuals of a given language volunteered to take turns in interpreting; the implications of such an event in terms of the development of leadership skills are obvious.

Another interesting offshoot of the native language factor was a series of extra workshop discussions on the conference itself. These took place after the regular sessions, and were almost exclusively in the native languages. They were enthusiastically attended in the evening by tired delegates who had already completed a full day of conference meetings. These native language talks were partially videotaped, and were to be shown later in a number of autochthonous communities, where they generated great interest and further discussions among the people. The "response" dialogue was in turn videotaped, thus widening and deepening the initial talks sparked by the MIN Conference, and pushing them into a new phase of growth.

Audiovisual recording

All general sessions were videotaped, sound-recorded, and broadcast live by the local CBC TV/radio station. Workshops were sound-recorded and portions of some were videotaped. Most monitoring equipment for live television coverage was installed in an adjacent room so as not to disturb the conferees. Special lighting, cameras, and microphones were set up before the arrival of delegates so that they were a fixed and integral part of the furnishings of the room. Interviews were conducted by CBC-Radio-Canada, TV reporters, and journalists, outside scheduled conference activities. Some extra filming and videotaping was done by the National Film Board and Radio-Canada during the last two days of the conference.

Only minimal recording activity took place at the outset of the conference as it was feared that the delegates would be intimidated by very intensive coverage. As the delegates began to "warm up" in general sessions and workshops, additional audiovisual equipment was gradually introduced. The delegates generally reacted positively to the video equipment as it gave them assurance that their ideas were receiving appropriate attention. Perhaps an effort should have been made to videotape more of the workshop discussions, which were more spontaneous and personalized.

The value of live TV coverage was that it stimulated public awareness of the conference discussions and may have induced a sense of positive community involvement in seeking the answers to developmental problems. Videotapes of the conference may prove useful in bringing the conference back to the people. Some tapes were circulated to a number of villages immediately after the conference. Since they include interpretation into native languages, they may be more effective than a written presentation in furnishing the people with a clear yet eloquent description of what happened at the conference. Sound tapes of workshops were useful in compiling a written report on the conference, and could likewise be used directly both for informing the people in the participating settlements of what occured at the conference, and for social animation activities.

PART III

FOLLOW-UP ACTIVITIES

A regular complaint from people who participate in conferences is that they do not see any obvious results, at least on a short-term basis. This danger was especially great in the case of the Inuvik Conference. As it was repeatedly explained to the participants before and during the conference, the gathering was designed to indicate to the MIN team the most important fields of community development to investigate, according to the views and aspirations of the northern residents. So there was to be little tangible follow-up, except for the research itself.

Nevertheless, any conference can be an occasion for putting together resources and for development ideas that can lead to some concrete results. In the case of the Inuvik Conference, it was important to maintain the links between MIN (and its parent organization, The Arctic Institute of North America) and the northern participants. The following steps have been taken.

1. The Inuvik Conference Report. Almost immediately upon the return of the MIN staff to Montreal, work was begun on the transcription of sound-tape recordings of the conference discussions. From these notes, a draft report on the conference was made up as quickly as possible and sent to all participants.

The prime consideration in writing the draft report was the need, expressed by many conferees, for immediate follow-up action which would both concretize the Inuvik discussions and promptly make available a means of relating the events of the conference to the people in the delegates' home communities. Only too often the initial impetus of such meetings is lost because too much time is spent preparing a meticulous and elaborate report. So in drafting the report, the conference organizers aimed for a speedy presentation of basic content.

2. The questionnaire as a feed-back mechanism. Shortly after the Conference, a letter and questionnaire were sent to participants, who were invited to make a personal evaluation of the conference, and to comment on or add to the content of the draft report.

Of the questionnaires related to the conference and draft report, 90% were not answered. However, some interesting responses were received. Perhaps the small number of replies indicates that the draft report was not effective in informing the people of the conference. It is possible, too, that many delegates simply did not have the time or could not be bothered to answer. The rate of response to written communications was low both before and after the conference, whereas response to face-to-face interpersonal communication tended to be consistently high and generally positive.

3. Audiovisual material. A number of important spin-offs resulted from the audiovisual recording of the conference. The videotaping/filming of the conference had involved several organizations, including the CBC (Northern Service, and the "Weekend" show), the University of Western Ontario's Indian Information Centre, the National Film Board's Indian Film Crew Training Program, and Radio-Canada's "Format 60" show. The videotaping/filming offer the most tangible evidence to date of the Conference's impact on northern communications:

a. "Format 60." Immediately after the conference the "Format 60" film crew accompanied the delegates from Aklavik back to their settlement. Film was shot of the meeting at which Conference delegates reported back to the citizens of Aklavik. Interviews with a number of Aklavik residents were also filmed, and an attempt was made to capture on film some of the conditions of northern life which had been described during the conference. The resulting French-language documentary illustrating the main features of the MIN Conference and of life in Aklavik was broadcast on Radio-Canada, January, 1971.

At a February meeting of communications specialists held at the Arctic Institute on the subject of videotape recording (see d. below), the general consensus was that the "Format 60" film was a very good documentary and that it should be more widely diffused. A recommendation was made that an English-language version be shown on the CBC National Network, as well as on CBC's Northern Service. Everyone agreed that the film's quality will be surpassed only when native northerners will have learned and perfected the art of film-making. It was also suggested that this film be shown to selected audiences; the MIN Conference communities were referred to in this regard, as were administrative and executive groups of organizations and government agencies active in the North.

b. Native language videotapes. It was mentioned earlier that special videotaped native-language meetings were set up spontaneously during the Conference. These meetings involved discussion of the Conference itself, as well as exchanges of views on specific topics related to community development. One such meeting of native people focussed on education and was conducted mainly in English. Soon after the Conference, videotapes of these sessions were made available to the Indian Brotherhood of the Northwest Territories and were circulated to a number of communities in the Mackenzie Valley region. In each community some of the discussions elicited by the initial viewing of the tapes were, in their turn, videotaped for viewing in other communities.

Reports on the initial use of some MIN Conference videotapes (that is, tapes of the special native-language meetings) in Mackenzie region communities indicate that they were well received and provoked a good deal of local discussion among native northerners. Dialogue on community development generated by these tapes has already been exchanged between northern communities, and shows promise as an effective catalyst in social animation and in intra-North information diffusion.

c. National Film Board videotapes. Some of the National Film Board videotapes of the conference were taken back for viewing at the Board's Montreal Headquarters, along with the names of possible candidates from the Inuvik area for the Indian Film Crew Training Program.

A number of southern organizations involved in the February meeting of communications specialists (see d. below) have expressed an interest in bringing videotape technology to the North, so that northerners might use it for their own benefit. One illustration of this was the interest shown by the Indian Film Crew Training Program (National Film Board) in northern communications. Another outstanding example is the "dogsled television network" concept of the University of Western Ontario's Indian Information Centre. The term "people's communication system" has been used in reference to the development of a northern communications network based on "grass-roots" control, local programing, and local decisions on what sort of image the North should project to the southern public.

d. CBC videotapes. At the beginning of February, AINA convened a meeting of communications specialists at its Montreal Headquarters. The purpose of this gathering was twofold: firstly, to view and discuss possible uses for CBC-Radio-Canada videotapes and films of the MIN Conference, and secondly, to consider the means of coordinating VTR technology to serve northern communications needs.

In response to a demand from the Committee for Original Peoples' Entitlement made at the February VTR workshop, MIN undertook to edit, script, and duplicate the MIN Conference videotapes in order to provide COPE with a series of complete information packages on the Conference. Presumably COPE will be able to find sufficient funds for the equipment and operating costs involved in setting up a northern VTR communications network, which will serve the NWT and the Yukon. It is to be expected that one or more southern-based organizations will contribute technical know-how and support in the initial phase, but the project would be controlled by and for northerners from the outset. The MIN Conference tapes will serve merely as a first input through which discussions can be initiated at the community level. In the long run, the northerners will build up their own information system, based upon their own needs as individuals and as communities.

ARCTIC INSTITUTE OF NORTH AMERICA 1945

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I personally prefer privately sponsored conferences like this rather than government ones.

Tadit Francis
Fort McPherson

More young people should take part in these sessions.

Jonah Kelly
Frobisher Bay

I learned quite a few things from this conference.

Garret Ruben
Paulatuk

We have learned something by doing something together and arguing the point "What are we going to do from here on"... "Where are we going to go from here?" I think this calls for another conference each year.

To have power you have to work together.

Victor Allen
Inuvik